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ADDRESS
OF THE
Union State Central Committee
TO
THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.
AND
THE PLATFORMS
OF THE
TWO POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS,
FOR
1865.



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TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THE VERDICT IN 1864.

Fellow-Citizens.—

In a short time you will again be called upon to exercise the highest privilege, and perform one of the most sacred duties of Freemen. One year ago our State was deeply agitated by a conflict of opinion which was emphatically and unmistakably settled at the ballot-box. Then the public mind was thoroughly aroused by the warmth and ability of the contest. On both sides were arrayed men who earnestly, and perhaps in most cases sincerely, endeavoured to persuade their fellow-citizens that the triumph of their views was indispensable to the welfare and prosperity of the State, the peace and enjoyment of the people, and the duration and life of the Nation. After a long, well contested and thorough canvass, the people of Pennsylvania, by more than twenty thousand, and the people of the Nation, by more than four hundred thousand, rendered their verdict. The lines were plainly drawn, and the issue clearly and fully made up. It is impossible for any one to be mistaken as to the character of the trial, or the nature of the verdict. The administration of Abraham Lincoln was on trial. The American people were the jurors. The contest was waged by his friends, under most inauspicious circumstances, and in the midst of unparalleled difficulties and trials. No event, in the history of the human race, was so well calculated to test fully and completely the capacity of man for self-government. The people were called upon, voluntarily, to tax themselves for the payment of an immense, and daily increasing debt. They were asked to furnish more men for the army; and on the very eve of the election, President Lincoln proceeded to enforce a draft to fill up the army at all hazards, preferring the suppression of the rebellion and the life of the Republic, to his own success at the polls,

an example of disinterested patriotism and of heroic action, never surpassed by any ruler named in history.

The people of the United States proved themselves worthy of such a ruler. Animated by a lofty patriotism, rising above all considerations of selfishness, and having resolved upon their knees and in their closets that the noble old Republic of our fathers should not perish; in spite of all our enemies at home and abroad, the tyrants and aristocracies of Europe, the kings of the earth, armed traitors in the South, their sympathisers in the North, and all the enemies of human liberty, everywhere, they heroically and courageously recorded their verdict at the ballot-box. Both parties went into the contest with their principles plainly inscribed upon their banners, and it is impossible to suppose that the people did not understand the nature, extent, and true character of the issues which they were trying.

The Union Convention at Baltimore, which nominated Lincoln and Johnson, declared as follows:

"Resolved, That it is the highest duty of every American citizen to maintain against all their enemies the integrity of the Union, and the paramount authority of the Constitution and laws of the United States; and that, laying aside all differences of political opinion, we pledge ourselves as Union men animated by a common sentiment, and aiming at a common object, to do everything in our power to aid the Government in quelling, by force of arms, the rebellion now raging against its authority, and in bringing to the punishment due to their crimes, the rebels and traitors arrayed against it.

"Resolved, That we approve the determi-

nation of the Government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an 'unconditional surrender' of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and that we call upon the Government to maintain this position and to prosecute the war with the utmost possible vigor to the complete suppression of the rebellion, in full reliance upon the self-sacrifice, the patriotism, the heroic valor, and the undying devotion of the American people to their country and its free institutions.

"Resolved, That as Slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength, of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of republican government, justice and the national safety demands its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people, in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of Slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States.

"Resolved, That we approve and applaud the practical wisdom, the unselfish patriotism, and unswerving fidelity to the Constitution and the principles of American liberty, with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as demanded by the emergency and essential to the preservation of the nation, and as within the Constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to defend the nation against its open and secret foes. That we approve especially the Proclamation of Emancipation, and the employment as Union soldiers of men heretofore held in slavery; and that we have full confidence in his determination to carry these and all other Constitutional measures essential to the salvation of the country, into full and complete effect."

In opposition to the views and principles thus announced, the representatives of the party in opposition to the administration, met at Chicago, nominated McClellan and Pendleton, and erected a platform which, among other things, contained the following:

"Resolved, That this convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity of war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired, justice, humanity, liberty and public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.

"Resolved, That the aim and object of the Democratic party is to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the States unimpaired; and they hereby declare that they consider the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution, the subversion of the civil by military law in States not in insurrection, the arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where civil law exists in full force, the suppression of freedom of speech and of the press, the denial of the right of asylum, the open and avowed disregard of state rights, the employment of unusual test-oaths, and the interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms, as calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union, and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed."

FALSE AND TRUE PREDICTIONS OF THE CANVASS.

During the progress of the campaign of 1864, the speakers, writers and canvassers filled the country with their hopes and fears, their opinions and prophecies. In accordance with the platform of the opposition, their leaders boldly denounced the war as a failure, openly proclaimed that the South never could be conquered, and that the re-election of Abraham Lincoln would certainly prolong the war for at least four years more, and fill the land with debt, with shame and disgrace, and with untold horrors and woes, and finally destroy the Republic of our fathers and rear a great military despotism on its ruins. On the other hand, the friends of the Administration urged that there could be no safety for the nation, except in a vigorous prosecution of the war, and that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln would go far

and do much to hasten the overthrow of the rebellion. The result is before the world. The promises and pledges of Union men made in 1864, have all been kept and fulfilled. Those of our political adversaries have all been dissipated and proved hollow, delusive and false. The ballot-box exhibited a majority unprecedented in the history of the nation. The enemies of liberty in foreign lands stood appalled at the result. The friends of the Union everywhere took new courage. The rebels trembled with fear, the heart of the rebellion grew sick and sank in the bosom of treason, and the sympathizers with rebellion in the North hid themselves away from the public gaze, and many of them to-day deny that they ever advocated the doctrines or made the prophecies which they then so earnestly defended, and so confidently proclaimed.

Thanks to the heroism, courage and skill of American soldiers, sailors and officers, and to the God of battles, the war is over, our nation saved, and the good old Republic still lives. Peace has again spread her gentle wings over our once happy and still beloved land. The sound of trumpets, the noise of cannon and musketry, the tread of armies, the victorious cheers of our brave soldiers, and the sickening groans of the wounded and dying are no longer heard in our borders. The nation, as in former times, comes out of the fiery ordeal triumphant, and now redeemed and vindicated before the world, stands forth more bright than ever before as a beacon to the down-trodden and oppressed of all lands, as a terror to the tyrants of the earth, as an asylum for the oppressed of all nations and as the wonder and admiration of the lovers of Freedom everywhere.

The grass which we were told would grow in the streets of northern cities in case of war, is now growing in the streets where the prophecy was made. The ruin, poverty and suffering which were to overtake the people of the North are resting upon the people who prayed for such blessings upon our heads. The new paradise which was to be discovered to delight the saints of the "Southern Confederacy," is filled with darkness and gloom, with sorrow and woe.

The large and mighty armies of treason have been overthrown and scattered before the larger and more powerful armies of the Republic. Traitors and their friends everywhere have been compelled to yield to the greatness, the power, the energy, the resources of the nation, and the courage, skill and endurance of her heroic sons.

Some of the leaders of the rebellion are buried beneath the soil they attempted to desecrate, some are fugitives in foreign lands, and others are swarming the National

Capital and crawling into the White House, begging pardons from the man whom of all others in the land, they have most fiercely denounced, and most bitterly hate. The chief of the rebellion himself from his prison at Fortress Monroe, surveys the ruin he has wrought among his own people and silently and sullenly awaits the action of the Nation he vainly attempted to destroy, to make known to him, in its own good time, the doom he so richly merits.

In the North, we have prosperity and plenty, all the evidences of increasing power and greatness, everywhere present, and the nation surely and certainly advancing more rapidly than ever before in the path of progress. And, notwithstanding all the calamities and sacrifices of four years of bloody war, (made more destructive by the inhumanity and barbarism of our enemies) we have just welcomed to their homes more than one million of brave men who have saved the nation and made their names immortal.

THE ISSUES OF THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN.

After the settlement of the issues of 1864, so disastrously in the field, and so overwhelmingly at the ballot-box against our adversaries, it would seem most singular that the same questions should be again presented to the people of the Keystone State. But they have selected their ground and we willingly and gladly accept the challenge. At the convention of their organization, recently held at Harrisburg, it was resolved, that "the men and the party administering the Government since 1861, have betrayed their trust, violated their sacred obligations, disregarded the commands of the fundamental law, corruptly squandered the public money, perverted the whole Government from its original purposes, and thereby have brought untold calamities upon the country." The measures of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, so recently endorsed by so large a majority of his countrymen, are here foolishly and wickedly denounced by the members of this convention, and the people of Pennsylvania are gravely asked to sanction the act, reverse their own judgment and repudiate the verdict of the nation solemnly rendered at the ballot-box.

The "Sic Semper Tyrannis" of the ever-to-be-execrated Booth, uttered as he rushed from the scene of the great crime of the age, conveys no greater insult to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, nor runs more directly counter to the feelings and sentiments of his countrymen than does this utterance of

the late so-called Democratic Convention. Let the whole army of freemen which marched to victory in 1864, under the banner of Abraham Lincoln, be again called into the field, and march to the polls in October, 1865, to resent the insult to his memory. Let there be no absentees—no deserters—no straggler—but let all the old soldiers, officers and men with a host of new recruits be on hand, ready for the fight.

But our adversaries were not content to stop with this resolution. They say in substance and effect that "war existed as a fact upon the advent of the successful party in 1860 to the seat of power,"—that "slaughter, debt and disgrace are the results of our late civil war,"—and that "no more persons shall be murdered by military commissions." We had thought that it had been pretty well settled by the American people that the war was caused, commenced and forced upon us by the actions and conduct of traitors, and that the election of a President according to the provisions of the Constitution and laws of the country, was no cause of war whatever. We thought, too, that success, the glory, greatness and renown of our common country,—the death of treason, slavery, State sovereignty, and the right of secession, and not simply "debt, disgrace and slaughter" were results of the war. As the action of the Military Commission had cost only the lives of a few of the assassins of President Lincoln, and as only a few of the vilest of the rebels were in danger from similar trials, it is next to impossible to divine a motive for the hostility of the late convention toward military commissions. It would be uncharitable to intimate that it originated in sympathy with such criminals as Wirz or Jefferson Davis.

In contrast with this remarkable platform of our political opponents, we have that of our own representatives, which, among other things, contains the following:

"The Union Party of Pennsylvania, in State Convention assembled, declare:

"1. That as representatives of the loyal people of the Commonwealth, we reverently desire to offer our gratitude to Almighty God, whose favor has vouchsafed victory to the national arms, enabled us to eradicate the crime of slavery from our land, and to render treason against the Republic impossible forevermore; and next to Him, our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our brave soldiers and sailors, who, by their endurance, sacrifices, and illustrious heroisms, have secured to their country peace, and to the down-trodden every-

where an asylum of liberty; who have shown that the war for the restoration of the Union is not a failure, and whose valor has proven for all time the fact that this Government of the people, by the people, for the people, is as invincible in its strength as it is beneficent in its operations."

The doctrines and principles of the party in 1864 have been re-asserted by the convention of 1865. It is confidently believed that they will not be deserted nor abandoned by the people at the polls in October next.

CONDITION OF STATES LATELY IN REBELLION.

There exists between the two parties, and indeed among persons of the same political faith, some difference of opinion in regard to the true condition and standing of States lately in rebellion against the Government. It is not proposed to discuss the point of difference which mostly involves an answer to the question: "Are the States now, and have they been during the war, within the Union or not?" If by "the States" is meant the soil or territory embraced within their boundaries, or the space occupied by them upon the map, then we rejoice to believe that not one inch has ever yet been or ever can be taken out of the Union. But it would seem equally clear that the Governments of those States have been wholly and utterly subverted, and for four years and more have been violently hostile and antagonistic to the Union. We find that on the 20th day of Nov., 1860, the Attorney-General of the United States, (Judge Black) in an official opinion used the following language: "If it be true that war can not be declared, nor a system of general hostility carried on by the Central Government against a State, then it seems to follow that an attempt to do so would be *ipso facto* an expulsion of such State from the Union, being treated as an alien and an enemy, she would be compelled to act accordingly. And if Congress shall break up the present Union by unconstitutionally putting strife and enmity and armed hostility between different sections of the country, instead of the domestic tranquillity, which the Constitution was meant to insure, will not all the States be absolved from their Federal obligations? Is any portion of the people bound to contribute their money or their blood to carry on a contest like that? If in accordance with this view "*those States were expelled from the Union,*" and if "*they were absolved from their Federal obligations,*" it would seem to

be pretty clear that they were out of the Union.

On the other side of the same question we have the same authority. At the convention of August 24th, 1863, Judge Black, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported, among other things, the following: "That the *States could not absolve the people from their Federal obligations; that the State ordinances of Secession were nullities*, and therefore when the attempted revolution came to an end by the submission of the insurgents, the States were as much a part of the Union as they had been before." It would seem from these views that when it suited the convenience, the fancy or perhaps the wishes of some persons to have the insurrectionary States out of the Union, then they were out; and when it was desirable to have them back again, then they were in and had never been out!

We are sometimes told that the ordinances of secession were null and void. It is conceded that they were illegal and unconstitutional. So it is to commit murder. But you cannot restore the life of the victim by declaring the illegal act null and void. It is unlawful to steal; yet if your horse be stolen you cannot bring him back by declaring ever so earnestly that the act is null and void.

Concede that the act of secession was not only illegal and unconstitutional, but also null and void, then, of course, all that followed in pursuance thereof must be null and void. If the foundation is removed the superstructure must fall. It is matter of history, however, to every one, that in those States all the judges, Legislatures, and officers chosen, and all the laws passed since the commencement of the rebellion, were chosen and passed in pursuance of the ordinances of secession. Of course, these actions are all null and void. Hence we find these States without Governors, without Judges, without Legislatures, and with their entire government subverted and overthrown. Being, however, a part of the soil and territory of the nation, it is for the nation to provide a Government for them until their people, freed from the odium of treason and taught to submit in good faith to the issue of the contest through which they have just passed, shall prepare and adopt for themselves a truly Republican form of government, recognizing all the great truths vindicated and established by the blood and treasure of the nation.

But it matters but little as to the opinions we may entertain in regard to the abstract question, whether these States are in or out of the Union, because it must be conceded, on all hands, that they have been recog-

nized as belligerents. Our political adversaries were the first to insist that these rights should be conceded to them. Foreign nations seconded the demand, and our Government yielded to it and treated them as such. Lest some one, now that the war is over, should insist that they were not in the position of belligerents, let us examine what the highest legal tribunal of the country has declared upon the subject.

The Supreme Court of the United States, in the prize cases recently decided, says: "Hence, in organizing this rebellion, they have acted as *States* claiming to be sovereign over all persons and property within their respective limits, and asserting a right to absolve their citizens from their allegiance to the Federal Government."

"It is no loose, unorganized insurrection, having no defined boundary or possession. It has a boundary marked by lines of bayonets, and which can be crossed only by force. South of this line is enemy's territory, because it is claimed and held in possession by an organized hostile and belligerent power."

Had there been any doubt before, this would clearly set the matter at rest. Having enjoyed the rights of belligerents, shall they avoid the responsibilities and duties and refuse to submit to the treatment of belligerents? What are some of these liabilities?

"The conventions and treaties made with a nation are broken or annulled by a war arising between the contending parties." Vattel, Book 3, Chap. 10, sec. 125.

In discussing the same point, and after alluding to a former custom which required a formal declaration of war, Phillimore, p. 662, says: "In the place of it has arisen the general maxim that war, *ipso facto*, abrogates treaties between the belligerents."

On the same subject Chancellor Kent says: "As a general rule, the obligations of treaties are dissipated by hostility." 1 Kent, 175.

On this subject Prof. Leiber says, on p. 8: "All municipal law of the ground on which the armies stand or of the countries to which they belong is silent and of no effect between armies in the field." And

Sergeant Wildman (page 8) says: "The primary effect of war is to extinguish all civil intercourse, and to place all subjects of *belligerents* in the condition of enemies. This principle extends not only to the natural-born subjects, but to *all* persons domiciled in the enemies' territories; to all who come to reside there with knowledge of the war; and who having come to reside before the war continued their residence after the commencement of hostilities for a

longer time than is necessary for their convenient departure."

For fear some one might contend that these principles do not apply in cases of civil war, we add an additional authority:

In considering this question, Vattel, in his *Law of Nations*, on pages 424 and 425, uses this language:

"When in a republic the nation is divided into two opposite factions, and both sides take up arms, this is called a civil war." "The sovereign indeed never fails to bestow the appellation of *rebels* on all such of his subjects as openly resist him; but when the latter have acquired a sufficient strength to give him effectual opposition, and oblige him to carry on the war against them according to the established rules, he must necessarily submit to the use of the term 'civil war.' On earth they have no common superior, *they stand precisely in the same predicament as two nations who engage in a contest, and, being unable to come to an agreement, have recourse to arms.*"

It is therefore perfectly manifest that these late rebels are now in the condition of conquered, subdued belligerents. How may we lawfully treat them?

When the war has been unjust, Vattel says:

"The whole right of a conqueror is derived from justifiable self-defence, which comprehends the support and prosecution of his rights. When, therefore, he has subdued a hostile nation, he undeniably may, in the first place, do himself justice respecting the object which has given rise to the war, and indemnify himself for the expenses and damages he has sustained by it."

"We have a right to deprive our enemy of his possession of every thing which may augment his strength and enable him to make war." (Page 364.)

"Every thing, therefore, which belongs to the nation, to the state, to the sovereign, to the subjects—every thing of that kind, I say, falls under the description of things belonging to the enemy." (Page 125.)

"A conqueror may with justice lay burdens on the conquered nation, both as a compensation for the expenses of the war and as a punishment." (Page 389.)

On this subject one of our own authors, Chancellor Kent, says:

"But, however strong the current of authority in favor of the modern and milder construction of the rule of national law on this subject, the point seems to be no longer open for discussion in this country; and it has become definitely settled in favor of the ancient and sterner rule by the Supreme Court of the United States." Kent's *Com.*, page 59. Also see Brown v.

The United States, 8 Cranch, 110. See also *Ibid.*, 228, 229.

Kent, in the same connection, in referring to the case of the cargo of the ship *Emulous*, 1 *Gallison*, 563, in the Circuit Court of the United States, at Boston, says: "When the case was brought up, on appeal, before the Supreme Court of the United States, the broad principle was assumed, that war gave to the sovereign the right to take the persons, and confiscate the property of the enemy wherever found; and that the mitigations of this rigid rule, which the wise and humane policy of modern times had introduced into practice, might, more or less, affect the exercise of the right, but could not impair the right itself."

TREATMENT OF REBELS.

We have thus seen how we may legally treat those lately in rebellion against us. How should we treat them? All will admit that we should desire to act towards them in such a way as best to promote the welfare of the people, and add most to the greatness and glory of our common country. It will depend much upon our action whether the war just closed, the most gigantic in the world's history, shall produce substantial results, or whether the blood and treasure of the nation have been shed and expended in vain. We must be merciful, but mercy must be tempered with justice. Indiscriminate mercy to the enemy would be danger and injustice to the nation. We must neither seek nor ask for vengeance. Whenever our late adversaries come in a true spirit of sorrow and repentance, sheath the sword and agree to obey the law, in the future we will extend to them the right hand of fellowship, and forgive them for the past. After they shall have given us satisfactory security for the future, by a reasonable probation, we will then, *but not till then*, restore them to the enjoyment of all the inestimable rights and high privileges which they so recently, so defiantly, and so causelessly trampled under their feet. For defiant and unyielding rebels; for those who keep the sword still drawn, recking with the blood of our brothers; for those who refuse to accept and submit, in good faith, to the results of the war; for all who glory in the part they took in the rebellion, and who still insist that they were right and the nation wrong, we must have confiscation, loss of citizenship, and in the end, banishment or the halter. Under the law of nations, and by the laws of war, we have a clear right to enforce the great objects of all wars—indemnity for the past, and secu-

urity for the future. *This right* extends to the confiscation of the enemy's property after the war is over. Even as a question of policy and expediency, or upon the ground of humanity, it is by no means certain that some such measure is not required for the security of the future. The war is not ended until the conquered party has fairly accepted all its results. As we have seen, we hold the late rebel States by the power of war as conquered belligerents. It is not only the right, but the solemn duty of the government, to hold these belligerents in the military grasp until all shall be demanded and obtained which may be necessary to secure the nation in the future, and render another rebellion or another war impossible. In accomplishing these ends, who could reasonably complain if it should be found necessary to confiscate the property of the rich, influential and active traitors. If the aristocratic element of the South will not be taught to obey the law, let its power and influence be taken from it by taking away its wealth. What loyal man could object, that by means of this fund, a few of the comforts, if not the luxuries of life, should be added to the tables of those widows throughout the land whose firesides have been made desolate by the war, or rather by the treason which caused it? Who would object, that the bounties and pensions of our soldiers, by whom the victory was won and the nation saved, should be increased, and a trifle added to the pecuniary compensation so justly due them for the sacrifices made? Who could object, that by means of these funds, so justly forfeited, a large portion of our national debt should be paid, and thereby the taxes of all classes of our people diminished, and a part of the heavy load imposed upon the shoulders of our people by treason, thus removed by treason itself? The rich men of the South—the aristocracy of the rebellious States, are almost entirely responsible for the rebellion. For centuries they have been living in ease and luxury, sustained, supported and enriched by the sweat and toil of the slave. Our so-called Democratic adversaries tell us that the war was for the negro, and for the abolition of slavery. If this be true, would it not seem to be a just judgment or decree of an over-ruling Providence, that the fruits of the negro's labor and toil should thus be wrested from the hands of his master to purchase and secure his own freedom?

It is absolutely indispensable to the future peace of the country, that the world shall be made to understand that treason is a great crime, and must be punished. Yet in the settlement of these questions, the rebels shall receive at our hands all that

justice and safety will permit us to grant. Our treatment of them shall be greatly influenced by their future conduct and actions towards the nation. And in shaping these, it would be well for them to remember that the war was of their own seeking, and of their own making, and that no one is so completely bound by a verdict as the man who sought the advantages of the trial.

THE SOLDIERS.

Extraordinary efforts are being made by our opponents to obtain the votes of our fellow-citizens recently returned from the service of the country in the army of the nation. In these efforts they should, and it is confidently believed that they will fail:

1. Because a vigorous prosecution of the war for the suppression of the rebellion has ever been urged by the Union party of the country.

2. Because the war has never been sustained or advocated by the leaders of the party opposed to the administration.

3. Because the friends of the Union cause have always sustained and supported the soldiers in the field, and the leaders of pretended Democracy have ridiculed and derided the soldiers of the Union, calling them "Lincoln's hirelings," "robbers," "plunderers," and other epithets unfit for repetition.

4. Because when volunteers were called for, they demanded a draft.

5. Because when the draft came, they opposed the commutation clause, and declared it was a discrimination against the poor man.

6. Because when that clause was repealed they complained that the only hope of the poor man was gone.

7. Because they denounced the war as a negro war, and did nothing to aid or assist in carrying it on.

8. Because they became highly indignant when negro troops were called for, and threw the benefit of all their sympathies with the South.

9. Because they opposed every measure the government found it necessary to adopt for the suppression of the rebellion.

10. Because they magnified every rebel

success, and deprecated every Union victory.

11. Because, in 1864, they declared the war a failure.

12. Because, in 1865, they declare that the fruits of the war are "debt, disgrace, and slaughter."

13. Because they tried to prevent the extension of the right of suffrage to soldiers in service. Their leaders opposed it in almost every form. Senator Wallace, now Chairman of their State Central Committee, said, (see Record of 1864, pages 335, 339,) "I vote against this bill upon principle, as well as for form. It is said that so meritorious a class as volunteer soldiers should not be disfranchised. To this I answer, that neither the Constitution of 1790, nor that of 1838, conferred this privilege, and the act of the soldier in taking upon himself duties that are from their nature incompatible with the right of suffrage, deprives him of this privilege. *He disfranchises himself when he ceases to be a citizen, and takes upon himself the duties of a soldier.*" When the amendment of the Constitution was submitted to a vote of the people, many of the so-called Democratic counties gave majorities against it, while every county in the State, (and it is believed every election precinct,) which gave to Abraham Lincoln a majority of its votes, gave a majority in favor of the amendment.

14. Their leaders almost invariably opposed giving bounties to volunteers, while the friends of the Union party always sustained and supported these measures.

15. Even since the war is over, they employed their ablest lawyers in an effort to declare the bounty laws unconstitutional, and really persuaded their two friends on the bench of the Supreme Court so to hold.

16. When men were greatly needed to fill up the ranks, and the Government ordered a draft, they resisted, and all of their representatives upon the bench of the Supreme Court declared the law authorizing the National Government to take men out of the State, by draft, was unconstitutional and void. Men were only obtained, and the nation saved because their party was defeated at the polls in 1863, and the act of three of these Judges rebuked by the people, and one of their places filled by a loyal man and sound judge;

17. Because they have tried to injure the credit, and disparage the currency of the

country, by means of which the pay, bounties, and pensions of the soldier can alone be paid. This point they also pressed before the Supreme Court of the State, and failed by a division of three to two.

18. Because the platform of the Union party recognizes the services of the soldier—declares that the war was commenced by rebels—that peace was the result of the courage and heroism of the Union army—that the cause in which he fought was holy and sacred, and that honor, glory, and prosperity to the country, and not "debt, disgrace, and slaughter," are the legitimate fruits of his toil.

19. Because when Union men expressed the hope that our troops might soon be able to conquer the South, even by their exhaustion and want of food, those leaders of the new Democracy declared that "we could never conquer the South," and that "they had more to eat in the South than we had in the North."

20. Because when rebels were starving our brave soldiers by the hundred at Libby, Belle Island, Andersonville, and elsewhere, these same leaders excused or mitigated the crime by declaring that "they fed our prisoners as well as they did their own men;" that "owing to the unconstitutional blockade of the tyrant Lincoln, they could not obtain a sufficiency of food."

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE OPPOSITION.

The opposition has not been so consistent in their course towards President Johnson as they have on the subject of the war. Prior to his re-nomination, they abused, vilified and denounced him. From the time of his nomination until the election, no epithets were too coarse. From the inauguration until the death of President Lincoln, they continued in the same strain. After that they began to flatter—then to approach. When he ordered the execution of the assassins, they sent forth a loud howl of indignation. When he ordered a trial of the Andersonville wholesale murderer, and talked of trying Jefferson Davis, they were about to give him up in despair. But now they profess to grow a little more confident. They endorse him in Maine and New York. They endorse him (provided he will do as they wish) in Pennsylvania. In 1863, they spoke of him thus: Senator Lamberton, Record of 1863, page 269; "But then he was Andrew Johnson the Democrat. Now, however, he has

deserted his post of duty in Tennessee; he is stultifying his past record; *he has become a pensioner on power, and a defender of the usurpations of Abraham Lincoln; and he appears among us to-day as an itinerant peddler of abolitionism.*" Senator Wallace, page 374: "During all the existence of the rebellion, where is Andrew Johnson? In the Senate of the United States, seeking protection for himself and his fellows under the bayonets of the soldiers of McClellan. He is never found in arms in defence of his State, or valiantly fighting in defence of the liberties of his people, against the armed cohorts of the rebellion. Never, never!" Senator Clymer, page 377: "I say, sir, that his" (Johnson's) "appointment, by the President of the United States, to that position, was a usurpation of power on the part of the President." * * * "That is my position, so far as concerns this pretended Governor of Tennessee. But without regard to any question of his official position, take *Andrew Johnson as an individual.* * * * I never, by my vote, will allow a man to come into these halls and from this place speak to the people of this great State, in support of what I know to be illegal, unconstitutional and tyrannical acts of the Federal Government. I know, sir, that Andrew Johnson has gone as far as the farthest, and is ready to go still further, *to destroy, to uproot, to upturn every principle upon which this great and good Government of ours was founded.* I know that he has bent with suppliant knee before the throne of power; *I know that for pelf, or some other consideration, he has succumbed to every measure presented to him for approval or disapproval.*"

These political leaders now are simply watching their chances, hoping that something may turn up which may enable them to return to power. In New York they adopted a platform at variance with all their past professions, and actually refused to condemn negro suffrage! They hope to use President Johnson to subserve their selfish purposes.

THE CHARGE OF NEGRO EQUALITY.

For many years our political opponents seem to have a large investment in slavery and the negro. Now that slavery is pretty generally admitted to be dead, it was thought that they might allow the old subject to rest. But not so. They return to the question with as much apparent zeal and warmth as ever. With a full knowledge of the fact that negro suffrage and negro equality are not, and could not possibly be, an issue, in the October contest,

they are making extraordinary efforts to mislead and deceive their fellow-citizens into a contrary belief. They think that our hostility and prejudices against the negro are so great, and that they have so often appealed to these with some show of success, that it is only necessary to repeat the effort in order to accomplish their designs. They tell you that efforts are being made to elevate the negro, and to place the two races on an equality. They seem to be very much afraid that some poor degraded negro may outstrip them in the race of life. They tell us that these negroes are weak, ignorant, and inferior to the whites. If so it would seem that they needed our help and assistance to educate and instruct them. The only danger of equality we can see is, that some white men, by continuing longer in such a course of argument, in utter disregard of truth, experience, and history, for the base purpose of reaching the prejudices of the thoughtless, may at last succeed in bringing themselves down to or beneath the level of the negro. The time was when they confidently declared that the destruction of slavery would send swarms of negroes into our midst to drive away white laborers. Experience has shown that the few we had here ran away from slavery in the South, and that had there been no slavery there these negroes in the North would have long since moved South. They told us, too, that in case of a war, the slaves would all fight for their masters. Neither Southern masters nor their Northern allies have any faith in this doctrine now. But these politicians cannot live without the negro. He comprises nearly their entire stock in trade. One year it is one phase of the negro question; another year it is something else. The great work of Bishop Hopkins was once one of their standard works. It is rather dull sale this year. The conduct of these politicians towards the poor degraded negro, would be past all comprehension, had we not a memorable example of the same kind in the early history of the human race. All the troublesome and deadly plagues of Egypt, including the death of all the first-born of the land, were not sufficient to reach the heart of Pharaoh, nor to persuade the Egyptians of the errors and sins of slavery. So that, even after the slaves had left the country, led by a pillar of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, the ruler and his hosts of subjects followed them even into the midst of the Red Sea. Our nation has suffered more than all the plagues of Egypt. As the law of primogeniture has been abolished among us, the deaths were not all of our first-born, but nearly one of every household; yet these

deluded hosts, led on by hard-hearted and wicked Pharaohs, as leaders, are still pursuing even into the midst of the Red Sea. Will not the "waters standing as walls of safety to the slaves, return again and cover Pharaoh and his hosts, and all that come into the sea after them, until there shall remain not so much as one of them?"

OUR CANDIDATES.

For Auditor-General, we have presented the name of Major-General JOHN F. HARTMAN, of Montgomery; and for Surveyor-General, that of Col. JACOB M. CAMPBELL, of Cambria. As biographies of these two gentlemen have recently been published and circulated among their fellow-citizens, it is only remarked here, that they are both brave and gallant soldiers, and especially qualified for a satisfactory discharge of the duties of the respective offices for which their fellow-citizens have nominated them.

IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE.

It is not to be disguised that there is a large number of persons both at the North and at the South, who have not finally abandoned the hope of the ultimate triumph of the principles of the late rebellion. They hope to secure by the success of their views at the ballot-box, that which they failed to accomplish by armed force. It may depend upon the decision of Pennsylvania on the 10th of October, whether the war shall prove, at last, a failure—whether its fruits are to be only "debt, disgrace and slaughter," or whether it is to have substantial results in the death and burial of slavery, state sovereignty and the right of secession.

It is a well-established fact, that the contest was long protracted by reason of the hope and belief entertained by the South, that they would receive aid and sympathy from the North. It is now all important to the South, that they should be assured that this hope is fallacious, and that the North will adhere unfalteringly, to the doctrines, principles and views which carried them triumphantly through the four years of bloody war. It is best to let them know

at once and forever, that there is no hope for the final triumph of the doctrines and measures, for which they contended in the field.

We have seen that the men among us who were first to urge upon the Government to hold the rebels in the light of belligerents, are now the first to strive to relieve them from the consequences and penalties of their belligerency. Those who were constant in their predictions that the "war would never end," and that "the South could never be conquered," are now most ready to insist that the war is over, and that its objects and results shall not be secured, but that rebels shall be instantly restored to all their former rights under the Constitution and laws of the country. These same men who are now appealing to the soldiers for their votes, officially denounce as "murderers" all those engaged in trying and punishing by military commission, the authors of the wholesale slaughter of their companions in arms. All this and more they do with a full knowledge of the law of nations, and the laws of war, which declare that these men have forfeited all their rights under the Constitution, and that they now lie prostrate at the feet of the victor, as conquered, overthrown and subdued belligerents; with just such rights and no more, as a kind and merciful Government may choose to vouchsafe to them. Let the people rally to the polls and sustain by their votes, the great cause so nobly and bravely defended and sustained by the soldier in the field. The future will then declare that the "Great War of Freedom" was not a "failure," but our children to the latest generation, will learn to read with the warmest glow of patriotism, those pages of our nation's history, which describe the skill and heroism of the officers and soldiers of this great struggle, and never cease to venerate their memories. The greatness, power, resources and energy of a free people displayed in our great struggle for the preservation of the nation's life, will only be equalled by the future greatness, prosperity and success of the nation purified, regenerated and reclaimed by the fiery ordeal through which we have just passed.

By order of the Committee.

JOHN CESSNA,
Chairman.

PLATFORM

OF THE

UNION CONVENTION,

Unanimously adopted at their Convention, held at Harrisburg,
on the 17th day of August, 1865.

FIRST. That as representatives of the loyal people of the Commonwealth, we reverently desire to offer our gratitude to Almighty God, whose favor has vouchsafed victory to the national arms, enabled us to eradicate the crime of slavery from our land, and to render treason against the Republic impossible forevermore; and next to Him, our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to our brave soldiers and sailors, who, by their endurance, sacrifices, and illustrious heroism, have secured to their country peace, and to the down-trodden everywhere an asylum of liberty; who have shown that the war for the restoration of the Union is not a failure, and whose valor has proven for all time the fact that this Government of the people, by the people, for the people, is as invincible in its strength as it is beneficent in its operation.

SECOND. That revering the memory of Abraham Lincoln, the great martyr of liberty, we cannot show greater honor to his name than by a generous support of his fellow-patriot and successor, Andrew Johnson, the President of the United States, who has been called to complete the task which he left unfinished. His unbending patriotism in the past is a sure guarantee that in the momentous future the authority of the Government will be upheld, and the rights and liberties of all the citizens of the Republic secured.

THIRD. That the mild and generous

method of reconstruction offered by the President to the people lately in rebellion, in the judgment of this Convention, has not been accepted in the spirit of honest loyalty and gratitude, but with such evidence of defiance and hostility as to impel us to the conviction that they cannot safely be entrusted with the political rights which they forfeited by their treason, until they have proven their acceptance of the results of the war, by incorporating them in constitutional provisions and securing to all men within their borders their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

FOURTH. That having conquered the rebellious States, they should be held in subjection, and the treatment they are to receive and the laws which are to govern them, should be referred to the lawmaking power of the nation, to which it legitimately belongs.

FIFTH. That as the late rebellion was wantonly precipitated by the property holders of the South, it is but just that they should pay the expenses of the war, and Congress should declare as forfeited and vested in the Government the property of all rebels whose estates exceed the sum of \$10,000, and that the proceeds of the property so confiscated should be applied to increase the pensions of those entitled thereto by the casualties of the war, to pay the damages done by the enemy to loyal

citizens, and to reduce the burden of the national debt.

SIXTH. That it is the duty of Congress so to revise the revenue laws as to afford increased protection to American industry; to secure the development of the industrial wealth of the people; to render labor profitable and remunerative; to build up home markets for agriculturists; to attract capital to the mineral fields of the country, and to provide revenue for the maintenance of the public credit; and this Convention recognizes the chief enemy to a policy of protection in that European power which, for four years, has furnished piratical vessels of war to the rebels, and thus endeavored to drive our commerce from the seas.

SEVENTH. That any attempt by foreign nations to establish a monarchical government on this continent is evidence of a design to destroy Republican institutions. Regard for our own safety and for the future security of the Republic demand that no such attempt should succeed.

EIGHTH. That it is the duty of Congress to secure the full Federal bounty to all honorably discharged soldiers, irrespective of the date of their enlistment.

NINTH. That we recognize in Edwin M. Stanton the fearless, honest and able head of the Department of War, a public servant who has deserved well of his country, and has borne himself so clear in his great office as to merit the earnest gratitude of all loyal men; and we tender to him and to his distinguished colleagues in the Cabinet our thanks for their valuable services in the cause of liberty and law.

TENTH. That the constant devotion of Governor Curtin to the best interests of the State and nation, during the last four years, and his indefatigable efforts on all occasions to pay the just debt of gratitude we owe our national defenders, not merely by words but also by deeds, entitles him to the thanks of every loyal citizen of Pennsylvania.

ELEVENTH. That this Convention, representing the loyal people of Pennsylvania, recognizes the claims of our citizen soldiers on our confidence and gratitude; and that in nominations for offices especial regard should be paid to the claims of those who have faithfully served their country in the army or the navy in the suppression of the rebellion.

TWELFTH. That the leaders of the Dem-

ocratic party stand arraigned before the people of Pennsylvania for constantly obstructing the efforts of the constituted authorities to maintain the life of the Republic. They did this

By inflaming the passions of their ignorant followers against the legally elected officers of the Federal Government, and refraining from all reproach against treason or armed traitors.

By procuring a decision from the Democratic judges of our Supreme Court, denying the right of the Government to the services of the citizens of this State for the defence of their imperilled country.

By discouraging men from volunteering into the armies of the Union; thus rendering it necessary to succumb to treason, or to pay large bounties, and so burdening every ward, township and borough in the State with debt to fill the ranks of our armies.

By opposing the enlistment of negroes for our defence, although one white man less was required for every black one who could be enlisted, and this at the very moment when the battle of Gettysburg was raging on the soil of Pennsylvania, and the result of that decisive battle was uncertain.

By denying to our soldiers the right to vote while fighting for the flag of our fathers, on the plea that such rights were not allowed by our constitution, and by opposing an amendment which removed their objections, and relieved our brave soldiers from this disability.

By exaggerating the public indebtedness, denying the public credit, and teaching that the financial resources of the North were unequal to the suppression of the rebellion.

By a shameful opposition to measures for extending relief to the families of Union soldiers, and by a malignant effort by these means to secure the success of the rebels in the field, or such a protraction of the war as would exhaust the nation in its effort to subdue their friends.

By now heaping abuse upon the Government for punishing assassins and their accomplices; by demanding the release of leading traitors, by frowning down all attempts to bring to punishment the fiends who starved our soldiers, and by assuming rebels that neither in person or property shall they be punished for their crimes.

And if anything were wanting to complete their infamy, we have it in their determined opposition to free labor, and to a tariff which, while it would make labor profitable by protecting the workingmen of Pennsylvania from British competition, would largely increase the revenue essential to the maintenance of the public faith and credit.

PLATFORM

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION,

Unanimously adopted at Harrisburg, August 24th, 1865.

Whereas, It is the imperative duty and should be the exclusive desire of every American citizen intrusted with the power of controlling public affairs by his vote or otherwise, to see that they are administered with a single eye to the great objects which our forefathers had in view when they laid the foundations of this republic, viz.: To form a more perfect Union; establish justice; insure domestic tranquillity; provide for the common defense; promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Whereas, The men and the party administering the Federal Government since 1861 have betrayed their trust, violated their sacred obligations, disregarded the commands of the fundamental law, corruptly squandered the public money, denied justice to the people, perverted the whole Government from its original purpose, and thereby have brought on untold calamities upon the country; therefore be it

Resolved, **FIRST.** That we, the Democracy of Pennsylvania, are now, as we always have been, faithful to the Union of the States, opposing the secession of the South with all our influence, and having no sympathy or association whatever with that party in the North which plotted against the Union and pronounced the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."

SECOND. That if the counsels of the Democratic party had prevailed, the Union would have been saved in all its integrity

and honor, without the slaughter, debt and disgrace of a civil war. But when the formation of sectional parties in the North and in the South, and the advent of one of these parties into the seats of power made war a fact which we could not counteract, we sustained the Federal authorities in good faith, asking nothing at their hands except a decent respect for our legal rights, and some show of common honesty in the management of our financial affairs, but in both these particulars we were disappointed and betrayed.

THIRD. That the Constitution established by our revolutionary fathers is entitled to our unqualified respect and obedience; the oath to support it is binding, religiously, morally and legally, at all times, under all circumstances, and in every part of the country; upon all public officers, from the highest to the lowest, as well as upon private citizens; it is only by a strict observance of its provisions, and a rigid enforcement of its obligations in all the States, that we can hope for union, liberty, or peace. He who willfully violates it, or counsels violation by others, is a public enemy and dishonest man.

FOURTH. That among the rights guaranteed to us, by the plainest words of the Constitution, are these: Free press, freedom from arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment, trial by jury, the writ of habeas corpus, the perfect immunity of all persons not in the army or navy from any species of punishment for crime or pretended crime which is not the legal consequence of a legal conviction by an impartial jury, the

absolute subordination of all military power to the civil authority, and the privilege of white citizen as to vote at the State elections, according to the laws of the State.

FIFTH. That we fully concur with President Johnson in the conviction expressed by him in 1869, and repeated several times since, that the Federal Government is sovereign within its proper sphere; that it acts, not through or upon the States, but directly upon individuals; that the States could not absolve the people from their federal obligations; that the State ordinances of Secession were nullities, and, therefore, when the attempted revolution came to an end, by the submission of the insurgents, the States were as much a part of the Union as they had been before. Their people were bound to the same duties and clothed with the same rights, excepting, of course, such rights as individuals among them had legally forfeited by their own acts in the meantime, and we hereby declare that so far as we can prevent it, the resumption of their proper places in the Union by those States, some of whose citizens were lately in Rebellion, shall not be impeded or delayed by the unlawful interference of that faction at the North which was always hostile to the Union, which now pronounces it legally desolated, and which is still malignantly laboring to prevent its restoration.

SIXTH. That the effort now making by certain persons to use the power of the General Government with a view to force negro suffrage upon the States against the will of the people and contrary to existing laws, is not only a high crime against the Constitution, but a deliberate and wicked attempt to put the States of this Union (all of them more or less, and some of them entirely) under the domination of negroes, to Africanize a large portion of the country, and degrade the white race, morally and socially, as well as politically, to the low level of the black. We will not acknowledge the incapacity of our own race to govern itself, nor surrender the destinies of the country into the hands of negroes, nor put themselves under their guardianship, nor give up to them the political privileges which we inherited from our fathers, and we exhort our brethren in other States to take up the same attitude and maintain it firmly.

SEVENTH. That we will support President Johnson in every just effort he may make to place all the States in their proper positions, to give to them a fair representation in Congress, to save them from the

curse of negro equality; he shall have our hearty approval when he inflicts legal punishment by means of legal tribunals upon offenders against the United States, and we will be with him in every means which looks to the maintenance of the public credit. But our full approval of his administration can be founded only in the belief that he will execute the law, the whole law, and nothing but the law, in all parts of the country; that he will not allow the military to interfere with State elections; that he will punish kidnapping and robbery through the legal authorities, whether committed by Federal officers or private citizens, and that he will suffer no person to be murdered by Military Commission, and upon these measures there can be no compromise; "he that is not for us is against us."

EIGHTH. That in view of our enormous national debt, the great weight of our State taxes, and the local burdens imposed upon us in divers ways, economy and retrenchment becomes an important duty of all our representatives, and to this end the vast standing army now on foot ought to be disbanded, the navy should be reduced, and the corrupt and extravagant practices lately introduced into the Government should be totally abolished.

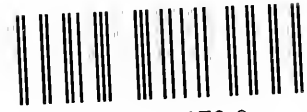
NINTH. That our revenue laws need to be carefully revised in such manner that while the public credit will be maintained, and the national honor preserved, taxation will be equal and just.

TENTH. That the gallant soldiers of the Republic, who so nobly risked their lives in defence of the Union and the Constitution, merit and will receive the undying gratitude of the American people. Living, they shall live in our warmest affections, and dying, their memories will be cherished for all time to come. To say, as our political opponents do, that they fought and bled, and died mainly for the freedom of the negro, is a gross insult on their patriotism and an outrage which will be indignantly resented by their surviving comrades through the ballot-box.

ELEVENTH. That the noble manner in which the Democratic press of this Commonwealth have contended in the defence of the liberties of the nation, amid trials and difficulties almost unparalleled, is deserving of our grateful recognition, and should entitle it to the encouragement of every Constitution-loving citizen.

TWELFTH. That we reaffirm our adherence to the Monroe doctrine.

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